241 To them, this labor is almost taboo (1). They are divided in
461

1. Extensive fields of peas are to be seen among the Batwa of the Bugoyi, who live at the edge of the forest. Should one see this as a new state of affairs caused by the deep changes which have upset or transformed their former way of life?

It is certain that the hunting grounds of the Pygmies are not as extensive as they used to be. The forest dwindles imperceptibly but surely as the Bahutu, in search of new fields, gnaw at it incessantly with their axes. It must also be said that the Negrillos can no longer plunder and rob as they used to do. European penetration is largely responsible for stopping this source of income. In order to support themselves, the Batwa have begun to farm out of necessity, like the Bahutu.

323 two categories, the potters and the hunters. The former settle in Bahutu villages but live apart. They work with clay, a task which everyone else gladly leaves to them. They get foodstuffs in exchange for their vessels.

224 The hunters prefer the solitude of the forest. They are the true children of the woods, and "milk" the forest in every way, as [195] though it were their cow, to repeat a familiar expression /35/ of theirs. They live on the game they kill.

They are very fond of meat and tirelessly track elephants, buffalo, antelopes, gazelles, the large tailless, clawless rats called

533
539

"Her father said, 'My child, what you have done is bad.

"'Evil will come unto us.'

"The carnivore knocked on the door for the second time.

"He entered the hut and hid near the rush wall (that divides the inside of the hut in two compartments).

"The woman got up to take a brand from the fire.

"The leopard leaped upon her and took her outside.

"With his claws he tore out her entrails (imushing' urwara mu nda, hava mw' umwana).

"The father got up to go to her aid.

"The animal had dragged his quivering prey into the banana grove.

"The husband, after a search, found nothing but a few blood-stained copper bracelets.

"After a period of time the feline returned. /451/

"The master of the house was not caught napping.

"His mind had been active since the accident.

"It was in vain that the leopard brought along Jack Rabbit (the prototype of the resourceful rogue who has a thousand tricks up his sleeve).

"He came near the hut.

"Nziguye ('I know how to handle difficulties') (1) had dug a

1. Nziguye is the substantive of the verb kwizigura, which means "to get out of trouble," "to escape danger through one's own resources."

deep ditch (covered with light branches).

"The leopard vanished into the trap and died there."

538
195

d. Aside from the bards and official chroniclers already mentioned, there are also at court some literary jousters who speak a refined language, who are appointed to the king's side, and who attend to him in shifts.

They are called Abasizi, from the word gusiga, which means "to speak a refined language." They expound the events of the day

538 in an amusing and literary form which is not understood by those who
195 are not in the know.

This is why the opposite of the verb gusǐgǎ is gusigura, which means "to explain." These men have great verbal facility and are always ready to improvise. The king takes pleasure in those literary jousts, which are not lacking in charm. Their language, which is very rich, lends itself readily to those witticisms which the Abasǐzǐ have built up into a vocation and livelihood. Their recruitment is usually entrusted to a great chief. The present incumbents of this office belong, on the one hand, to the Basinga and aBene Katambi clans, and, on the other hand, to the Bakōbga (Nyaruguru, near the Bisi Mountains).

538 Like the official chroniclers, they remain at the sovereign's disposal, ready to beguile his leisure and to make him enjoy literary pleasures.

539 In order to give an idea of their style and of their talent, /452/ we transcribe here three small pieces of their own making, chosen from among the simplest and easiest.

First Example

Agasǐgo ka Rumanur' imbāba.	A small literary piece about that (famine) which caused bits and pieces of hoes to come out (of their hiding places to buy food with them).
Ibyo bitag' imitsima.	What used to be called bread (to wit, the roots of banana trees).
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us from it (forever).
Intoke ziraruhutse.	The banana trees may (now) rest.
Ibyo twaryaga.	What we (formerly) ate.
Ngaho wabay' umutsima.	That it has now become (true) bread.
Mitsindo yarabitsinze.	The Victorious (king) has delivered us (from these evils).

539 Nd' uwawe, nd' uw' imanzi. — I am yours, I am the Hero's (man).
Nkazibgira, Muzima. — I speak to him (to this Hero), oh perfect (king)!
Nivugire, nd' uwinganji. — Let me rejoice, I am (the man) of the Victorious.
Witwa Ndabagize. — You are named (oh king!) the master of their fate. /453/

[195] We may add that in order to observe the rules of euphony, the black men of letters are permitted to use poetic license and deliberately to make errors of syntax, construction, conjugation, etc.

Third Example

Akanganiro k' umubyeyi w' umwana. — Conversation of a mother with her child (to amuse him).
Umugor' atiny' umugabo. — The wife fears her husband.
Umugab' atiny' umwami. — The man fears the king.
Umwam' agatiny' inkuba. — The king fears lightning.
Inkub ' igatiny' umugano. — Lightning fears bamboo (1).

821
539 1. The Banyarwanda, especially those who live in the mountains, have the custom of setting up a long bamboo stem in the court-yard near their hut to protect against lightning. They believe that the latter is caged and harmless when it splits the bamboo.

539 Umwan' atinya nyina. — A child fears (respects) his mother.
Umugan' ugatiny' umuliro. — Bamboo fears fire (2).

[372] 2. "Bamboo fears fire" because people who live near the forest burn chiefly bamboo.

539 Umurir' ugatiny' amazi. Fire fears water.
Amaz (i)' atiny' ifu. Water fears flour. (3)

3. "Water fears flour," that is to say, the bread or "mush" into which it vanishes.

If' itiny' amenyo. Flour fears teeth (4).

4. "Flour fears the teeth" of those who eat it.

Ameny' atiny' umuhoro. Teeth fear the billhook (iron) (5).

[412]

5. "Teeth fear the billhook," as all other hard bodies, especially when made of iron, like the billhook, which is one of the most useful tools.

538 The Blacks of Ruanda have a rich and varied oral literature. They like witticisms, and since their language is rich in shades and nuances, they manipulate it with great art.

• 195 644 The most refined speech is heard at the capital. The habitual frequenters of the court, lords, courtiers, and employees, express themselves in flawless language, use the right words and choice expressions, and give them the proper inflections, for Runyarwanda is a phonetic /sic/ language. The appointed men of letters, storytellers, bards, genealogists, and historians carefully [521] watch their diction. Among them conversation is never /454/ dull, for jokes and witticisms abound.

Considering the good taste that distinguishes the familiars of the king and the inhabitants of the central province of Nduga, it is not

195 surprising that they should be shocked and amused by the lingo of the
644 mountain dwellers and those who inhabit the frontiers of the realm. The latter's language is far from refined. It teems with syntactical and accentual mistakes and contains a mixture of foreign terms borrowed from the tongues of neighboring groups.

More conversant than others with matters of language, the men at court readily argue about the worth or etymology of existing words, and willingly create others which are more adequate by drawing upon the genius of their language.

195 The plural word imiduha means "cactus." Its literal meaning
814 is "those (plants) that give to us." Since those kinds of plants, which resemble the Abyssinian quelqual or kwelkol, are not of any productiveness to the Banyarwanda, the men of letters propose, at least theoretically, to replace the word with imyiha or ichyiha, both of which are purely conventional nouns devoid of this misleading connotation.

It is in the same spirit that the black academicians wish to substitute the word ikyiyone, that is to say, "large bird" for the usual term igikona, whose literal meaning is "that which ravages" (the crops). Our African "Immortals" /Tr.: term applied to members of Académie Française/ would also like to see the term umuguta used exclusively to designate a skeleton (or dried-up cadaver), and its synonym umwite reserved for the word "skin."

551 In their superstitious fear the Blacks avoid pronouncing the
195 names of persons, animals, and things of which they are afraid. They are motivated by the spirit expressed in the French proverb:

Quand on parle du loup, il sort du bois /Talk of the wolf and he will come out of the woods, i.e., speak of the devil and he will appear./ /455/

Instead of calling the leopard by his real name, ingwe, the cowherds, shepherds, travelers, and all other persons who frequent the areas haunted by those animals use the following expressions:

"The one whose name is kept unsaid," Nyiramahole.
"The wind (fast as the wind)," Muyaga.
"The claw of claws," Rwara.
"The animal with the spotted coat," Bugondo.
"The voracious one," Kimizi.

[55] 195 So as not to risk meeting a lion /intare/, they use the following expression when speaking of that animal: "the glutton" (lwabgiga).

The Blacks are never at a want for words. Their language is rich and lends itself to subtleties and to the development of the new ideas introduced by the Europeans.

198 [575] In order to communicate among themselves, the members of the Ryangombe secret society have created a sort of dialect. Many of its more common terms are known to the uninitiated but arouse mirth when used in ordinary speech.

We shall list here some of the words in this Rumandwa dialect:

192 198

Rumandwa	Literal Sense	Runyarwanda	Meaning
Ameza	"Good things"	Amata	Milk
Ubgihinga	"A difficult thing to cultivate"	Uburo	Eleusine
Ibihimbaza	"Things that satisfy /hunger/"	Ibishimbo	Beans
Amaranda (1)	"Creeping things"	Amateke	Taraud /the dictionary meaning "screw-cutter" does not seem to apply here./

1. Or amabya y'abak ungu.

Umubonanya		Umutsima	Sorghum bread
Inganda		Inzoga	Beer
Akayoba nzara	"That which staves off hunger"	Itabi	Tobacco
Imirundi y' inkuba	"The legs of lightning," (that is to say, that which is shaped like a bolt of lightning).	Ibijumba	Sweet Potatoes /456/

644 [534] Swinging their grotesque headdress to the right and to the left, they come in dancing and singing, sounding the bells and sistra which they hold in their hands.

They call upon Ryangombe and other dead initiates to bestow their protection upon the sovereign.

●195 644 192 2. In order to speak of the king and of his most trivial and frequent actions, custom demands that colorful and noble terms be used, such as for example the following: kubikirwa or kwisasira instead of kuryama, which means "to go to bed."

igisasiro for uburiri..... "royal bed"
kubamburwa for kubyuka..... "to get up"
kuj' ijabiro for kuboneka ..... "to appear"
inyundo for amaguru ..... "legs"
ingoro for inzu ..... "house" /492/
ingoro irakamwa for inzu irava . "it rains in the hut"
ingoro irahonjoka for inzu iragwa. "the hut is falling to pieces with age" (1)

1. Kubikirwa comes from the word kubika, "to put away an object," "to put it in its proper place"; kwisasira means "to spread out the mats on the ground"; igisasiro, "the place where the mats are spread out"; kubamburwa, "to be awake"; kuj' ijabiro, "to go to that part of the hut where one talks to guests"; inyundo, "iron hammer"; ingoro, "palace"; ingoro irakamwa, "the palace is milked," to mean that it rains in there; ingor' irahonjoka, "the palace grows fat" (that is, it swells), because it is falling to pieces with age.

192
195
644

Figurative terms are used to speak of the king's death:

gutabara	"to go to the aid, " "to go to war"
gutánga	"to hand over" (the drum to the successor)
kunywa	"to drink" (poison)
gussaza	"to grow old"
gusezera	"to take leave"
ijuru ryaguye	"the sky has fallen"

644 3. It would be most disrespectful to allude to anything pertaining to his eventual death. While on a trip the king must avoid passing too close to cemeteries or even to the mere "night stops" (ilaro, amalaro), where the bodies of his predecessors were laid in the course of their transfer to the royal necropolises.

[767] Nor is he permitted to spend the night in those villages which are inhabited by the undertakers.

The latter in turn must avoid appearing in his presence and must employ an intermediary when they have to deal with the king.

As if the thought, likeness, or memory of death could shorten his days or bring misfortune upon him!

4. Whenever possible His Majesty must avoid bending his knees (guhina), so as not to risk a reduction in the area of his kingdom (2). /493/

[821] 2. When caught by a storm or bad weather the king must not quicken his pace; he must proceed quietly to shelter. Rain is regarded as a blessing due to the influence of the prince. A quickening of his pace might bring the beneficial downpour to an end.

We believe that this popular belief will soon be pushed into the background, and that the monarch will become less willing to submit to all the demands of his position.

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

and Tutsikazi are tall, dignified and elegant; they know how to give the impression of great control, of intelligence and of refinement. Hutu and Hutukazi are plainly farmers, short and sturdy, clumsy, made for work, and they seem to be vulgar, stupid, incapable of controlling their emotions or of speaking well. Nothing has so far been said of the poor Twa: like the Rundi, we have forgotten them. The Twa, pariahs, are, say the Rundi, without shame. They eat anything, they employ bad language. It is necessary to pay them for the pots their women make, for no Rundi will participate in economic exchanges of gifts and services or in social relations with them. We shall see further on that the stereotypes of superiors and inferiors according to caste can be used also in describing all other superior-inferior relationships.

To complete the description of the hierarchical order of Rundi society, it is necessary to include the kinship system. The familial hierarchy has the same pattern as the social hierarchy. All benefactors are called *umuvyeyi*, parent. The *mwami* is like a benevolent father, it is said, who likes the Rundi, his children. The nursing mother is the symbol of feminine generosity. The best way to thank a benefactress is by means of the formula: I am a nursing child at your generous breasts, or alternatively: you are to me as a freshened cow. The herders sometimes argue about the relative superiority of women and cows; both sources of milk appear to have their partisans.

Whatever the position of an individual in the social hierarchy, he will also have his place in the familial hierarchy. The head of a patrilineage, prince or pariah, is at the summit of the familial hierarchy. He is the *mukuru*, the highest, the oldest by rank, though not necessarily by chronological age. He speaks first, he drinks first, he must be respected and obeyed by his brothers, his sons, and the women of the patrilineage. The household consisting of a man and his wife and children is the smallest independent unit of Rundi society. There, the father of the family is *nyene rugo*, the master of his household. His children and his wife—if he is polygamous, his wives—owe him respect and obedience. Addressed in the familiar by his superiors, the father of the family addresses his inferiors in the familiar, in his capacity as a patriarch of almost absolute power. His wife kneels before him when she offers him his gourd of beer, and his child kneels before him to receive his blessing. (The Old Testament comes inevitably to mind at the sight.) Sons receive a part of their father's property as their inheritence not later than the time they receive a wife but are all their lives subjugated to their father's authority. The father chooses one of his

10: Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

554 displaying in public the respect and obedience due them. An
562 intelligent woman makes herself liked or feared, according to the
513 character of the men with whom she is dealing. Occasionally, it is
said of a Rundi that "his house is burning", that is to say, despite
● [195] the show of respect, his wife rules the roost. He is afraid of her,
she nags him, she criticizes him, she wants to decide everything,
and one fine day she will put poison in his beer, or she will
calumniate him. However, a woman need not dominate her
husband in so heavy-handed a fashion to earn her laurels as matri-
arch. She has her own inferiors to dominate, and there are other
ways to become the *umutoni* of her husband and the other men.
Apart from her ability as the mistress of her house and her
generosity as a hostess, apart from all her obligations, a woman as
an inferior is likely to understand very well the uses of flattery and
subservience. She knows how to be an informant, to calumniate
her superior's enemies as well as her own hated rivals, to show
herself always loyal and devoted, to make the welfare of her
superior her primary concern. She also knows how to satisfy
sexual desires, the need for alcohol, and other demands of the body
and the spirit. Superiors, apart from their economic dependence
upon their inferiors, seem to seek them also for the satisfaction of
what appear to be exceedingly urgent needs for love, respect, and
loyalty and for entertainment that will take their minds off their
troubles. It is to have these needs satisfied that they make presents,
that they give what is asked of them. An intelligent woman busies
herself with satisfying the desires of her superiors and thereby
making herself indispensable to their happiness. Neither the
Sophists, nor Machiavelli, nor the courtiers of Louis XIV have
anything to teach the Rundi. An intelligent Rundikazi, like any
[557] intelligent social inferior, knows that to obtain happiness it is
necessary only to say yes—to play along with the internal weak-
nesses and needs by which the superior is enslaved.

NOTES

193 [1]*Linguistic note:* Bantu prefixes have been dropped from words that refer to the inhabitants of Burundi. They are referred to as "Rundi" and by their caste-names, Tutsi, Hutu and Twa. Other words of the language retain their Bantu form, e.g., *mwami*, king; *mwamikazi*, queen-mother or princess, *bamikazi* in the plural; *muganwa*, prince, *baganwa* in the plural. The suffix, *-kazi*, designates the feminine. For "Rundi woman," "Tutsi woman," "Hutu woman," or "Twa woman," the Rundi forms will be used, i.e., "Rundikazi," "Tutsikazi," "Hutukazi," and "Twakazi."